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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 13 August 1992, at 4 p.m.

President:	Mr. LI Daoyu	(China)
Members:	Austria	Mr. HAJNOCZI
	Belgium	Mr. VAN DAELE
	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	Ecuador	Mr. AYALA LASSO
	France	Mr. ROCHEREAU DE LA SABLIERE
	Hungary	Mr. BUDAI
	India	Mr. GHAREKHAN
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. SNOUSSI
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mr. PERKINS
	Venezuela	Mr. ARRIA
	Zimbabwe	Mr. MUMBENGEGWI

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The meeting was called to order at 4.25 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

LETTER DATED 10 AUGUST 1992 FROM THE PERMAMENT REPRESENTATIVE OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/24401)

LETTER DATED 10 AUGUST 1992 FROM THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES A.I. OF THE PERMANENT MISSION OF TURKEY TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/24409)

LETTER DATED 10 AUGUST 1992 FROM THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES A.I. OF THE PERMANENT MISSION OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/24410)

LETTER DATED 10 AUGUST 1992 FROM THE PERMANENT REPESENTATIVE OF MALAYSIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/24412)

LETTER DATED 11 AUGUST 1992 FROM THE PERMANENT RERESENTATIVE OF SENEGAL TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/24413)

LETTER DATED 11 AUGUST 1992 FROM THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES A.I. OF THE PERMANENT MISSION OF SAUDI ARABIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/24415)

LETTER DATED 10 AUGUST 1992 FROM THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES A.I. OF THE PERMANENT MISSION OF KUWAIT TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/24416)

LETTER DATED 11 AUGUST 1992 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF PAKISTAN TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/24419)

LETTER DATED 12 AUGUST 1992 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF EGYPT TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/24423)

LETTER DATED 13 AUGUST 1992 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED ARAB EMIRATES TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/24431)

LETTER DATED 13 AUGUST 1992 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF BAHRAIN TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/24433)

LETTER DATED 13 AUGUST 1992 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE COMOROS TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/24439)

LETTER DATED 13 AUGUST 1992 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE QATAR TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/24440)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sacirbey (Bosnia and Herzegovina) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in response to the requests contained in letters addressed to the President of the Security Council dated 10 August 1992 from Bosnia and Herzegovina (S/24401); 10 August 1992 from Turkey (S/24409); 10 August 1992 from the Islamic Republic of Iran (S/24410); 10 August 1992 from Malaysia (S/24412); 11 August 1992 from Senegal (S/24413); 11 August 1992 from Saudi Arabia (S/24415); 10 August 1992 from Kuwait (S/24416); 11 August 1992 from Pakistan (S/24419); 12 August 1992 from Egypt (S/24423); 13 August 1992 from the United Arab Emirates (S/24431); 13 August 1992 from Bahrain (S/24433); 13 August 1992 from the Comoros (S/24439) and 13 August 1992 from Qatar (S/24440).

Members of the Council have before them two draft resolutions submitted by Belgium, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America, contained in documents S/24421 and S/24422, respectively.

(The President)

I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following documents: S/24403, letter dated 10 August 1992 from the Permanent Representative of Ukraine to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; and S/24404 and S/24405, letters dated 5 and 7 August 1992, respectively, from the Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

Members of the Council have received photocopies of letters dated 13 August 1992 addressed to the President of the Security Council from the Chargé d'affaires ad interim of the Permanent Mission of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the United Nations, the Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the United Nations, the Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the United Nations and the Permanent Representative of Egypt to the United Nations, which will be issued as documents S/24432, S/24434, S/24437 and S/24438, respectively.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolutions before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall take it that that is the case.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. JESUS (Cape Verde): Mr. President, I should like, Sir, to take this opportunity to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. Your well known qualities and skills are major assets in our deliberations. I pledge the full cooperation of my delegation to you, Mr. President.

(Mr. Jesus, Cape Verde)

The world has been horrified over the last months by the events taking place in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Cities are being bombed and fired upon indiscriminately, leaving behind a trail of destruction and death.

Bosnian Muslims are being expelled from their homes to give way to "ethnically pure" areas, of bad memory, in a show of total disregard for humanitarian law and creating a serious and difficult refugee situation.

Concentration camps and mass detention centres, things that seemed to belong to a remote past, have once again made their appearance as evidence of the inhumane nature of this conflict and portraying the ruthless manner in which Bosnians are being treated. All this suffering, all these killings and destruction, and all these atrocities, committed especially against the Bosnian Muslims, are being seen time and again around the world with great indignation and frustration.

(Mr. Jesus, Cape Verde)

We find it difficult to understand how this could be happening today in any part of the world, how, in this day and age, people can be massacred, be expelled from their homes and have their fundamental rights abused before the very eyes of the international community, which seems to do nothing to come to their rescue.

The Council itself, on whose action the security of many small nations is supposed to rest, has not gone beyond appeals for peace. There have been many appeals indeed, but they have been to no avail.

The conflict in the Balkans has the potential to be a major source of destabilization of international peace and security if it is not controlled and contained.

It is high time that the Council asserted its powers under the Charter and assumed the responsibilities for which it was created.

This armed conflict must come to an end. The aggression against Bosnia should be repelled, and the rights and dignity of the Bosnian victims of this conflict should be restored.

In this context, we are glad to note that the draft resolution contained in document S/24421 calls upon States and regional agencies or arrangements to use all necessary means to provide humanitarian assistance to Bosnia. We welcome such a measure. Although this measure might not be sufficient to bring the abuses and atrocities to a complete halt, we consider it to be a step in the right direction.

We also welcome the draft resolution contained in document S/24422, dealing with the humanitarian-law aspect of the conflict. We expect full cooperation to be extended to the International Committee of the Red Cross for

(Mr. Jesus, Cape Verde)

its immediate and unimpeded access to the concentration camps and detention centres.

We shall vote in favour of both draft resolutions.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): I thank the representative of Cape Verde for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. AYALA LASSO (Ecuador) (interpretation from Spanish): The States Members of the United Nations and the international community as a whole are, unfortunately, becoming quite familiar with the deplorable course of violence taken by the crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina. As result of the blind internal fighting, aggravated by aggressive foreign intervention, the complications of the humanitarian situation, in particular that of innocent civilians caught in the conflict, have reached an extreme that is intolerable for any civilized conscience.

Security Council action to respond to the humanitarian crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina has a relatively long history in this bloody war. By adopting resolution 764 (1992), the Council tried to guarantee the delivery of humanitarian aid through the airport of the city of Sarajevo, because it believed that the situation unquestionably had characteristics that could affect international peace and security.

Subsequent decisions of the Council supported the efforts that had been made, particularly at the regional level, to bring about a negotiated end to the conflict, within a broad regional solution. In this spirit the Presidential statement of 17 July 1992 welcomed the London Agreement and the cease-fire agreement that had been reached. Regrettably, that agreement, which seemed to be a step in the right direction, was violated by the parties

(Mr. Ayala Lasso, Ecuador)

from the very moment it was signed, as had happened with many other cease-fire agreements.

At the same time, violence and disregard for fundamental human rights continued to grow. The mass communications media have shown us with the eloquence of pictures and eyewitness accounts the degree of suffering and the tragedy that is being experienced by men, women and children, innocent victims of the irrationality and political ambition of irresponsible leaders. Practices that we had thought buried for ever, like black pages of the world's history, have appeared anew, lending apparent support to Hobbes's pessimistic view that man is a wolf to man.

Fifty years after the Second World War, racial hatred is manifested in expulsions and the deaths of detainees in concentration camps, where the human dignity of both victim and victimizer is debased and death is sown. This is the final chapter of so-called ethnic cleansing.

A horrified world has responded in unanimous fashion, asking the organized international community to take further measures to halt this tragedy. The Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina has formally addressed itself in writing to the Security Council, requesting it to act to that end. We are now meeting to respond to the collective outcry and to the express request of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We are about to adopt a draft resolution that calls upon States to take, individually or collectively through regional organizations, all measures necessary to facilitate the provision of humanitarian assistance to Sarajevo and to all Bosnia and Herzegovina in general, while maintaining constant coordination with the United Nations. In this way, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, the Council has resolved to set in motion a process that we

(Mr. Ayala Lasso, Ecuador)

hope can be carried out without the use of coercion to alleviate the suffering of the inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, the Council did not wish to overlook the possibility that circumstances might make the use of coercive measures necessary, and in that light, it has resolved to authorize States to proceed to take even measures of that nature to ensure the delivery of humanitarian assistance.

The message of the draft resolution is clear: humanitarian assistance to Bosnia and Herzegovina is indispensable and must therefore reach all those innocent civilians who need it. The international community cannot be insensitive to the suffering of defenceless human beings. The existing situation is without doubt a threat to international peace and security and the provision of humanitarian assistance is a basic condition for the restoration of peace and security in the region.

Accordingly, the States that answer the Council's call will be authorized to use every means necessary to achieve the specific aim in question because of the exceptionally grave and urgent circumstances that prevail in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The second draft resolution we are considering relates specifically to the violation of international humanitarian law, particularly the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949. This draft resolution is the minimum response that the international community should make to policies of forcible expulsion, deportation of civilians, imprisonment, torture and death in concentration camps. The perpetrators of those unforgivable abuses must correct their behaviour immediately. They must allow international humanitarian organizations, especially the International Committee of the Red Cross, free and full access to all those places where it is necessary to

(Mr. Ayala Lasso, Ecuador)

conduct inspections in order to put an end to such abuses. And they must also realize that the Security Council firmly intends to adopt new measures under Chapter VII of the Charter if the resolution we are about to adopt does not produce the immediate and satisfactory results that we expect.

The Ecuadorian people are horrified at what is happening in Bosnia and Herzegovina and at the historical parallel that can be drawn between the crimes against humanity that were committed during the Second World War and those that are now being uncovered in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

For those reasons, and as an expression of the traditional humanistic and moral nature of the people of Ecuador, my delegation will vote in favour of both of the draft resolutions under consideration.

Mr. GHAREKHAN (India): The Government and people of India are outraged at the abominable events taking place in the young Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a friendly country and an independent and sovereign Member of the United Nations. We deplore and condemn the criminal attacks upon innocent civilians, which have caused the deaths of over 8,000 men, women, and children. We totally reject and unequivocally condemn any and all manoeuvres to starve any group of people into submission. It is inconceivable that, in this day and age, the phenomenon of "ethnic cleansing" should have raised its ugly head. Such activities, whether practiced by a State or by groups with the support of outside States, deserve the strongest possible condemnation, wherever and everywhere they might take place.

My delegation endorses the substance and objectives of the draft resolution contained in document S/24421. People in India, like decent people everywhere, have been shocked by the images of emaciated bodies behind barbed wire. We could not but be aghast at the murderous attack on a bus which was transporting infants and children out of the battle zone. Even more deplorable was the firing upon the mourners who had gathered to bury the two infants killed in the attack on the bus. We have read with horror reports about the horrendous conditions in which people in some towns in Bosnia and Herzegovina have been living.

My delegation is thus fully prepared to lend its support to efforts to ensure the delivery of the required necessities of life to the needy everywhere in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Nor is my delegation opposed to the concept of the use of force in the present situation. The use of force is a matter of extreme gravity and it should be resorted to only in exceptional circumstances. We have no doubt whatever that the critical and desperate plight of the population demands urgent and effective response on the part of

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

the international community and that a such a response cannot and must not exclude the use of force. There should be no misunderstanding on this score.

My delegation has consistently maintained that any action authorized by the Security Council or taken under its banner, so to speak, should be carried out in strict conformity with the provisions of the Charter. This is true whether the proposed action is to be implemented under Chapter VI or Chapter VII. So long as it is the Security Council which is authorizing a particular course of action, it should be with due respect to Charter provisions. It follows therefore, that, if use of force is to be authorized under Chapter VII, the provisions of that Chapter should be respected.

It is the view of my delegation that, in the present instance, it would be highly advisable - indeed, imperative - that the operation, which could involve the use of force, should be and should always remain under the command and control of the United Nations. This is an important point for my delegation. Some delegations might consider this aspect as not substantive enough. I can appreciate their point of view. I also sympathize with the sponsors, who, perhaps for good reasons, are unable to follow this logical approach in the draft resolution, even though they might see considerable merit in my delegation's point of view. As I said earlier, my delegation has no differences whatever with the objectives of the sponsors. Indeed, we are prepared here and now to support and even to co-sponsor a resolution invoking Chapter VII of the Charter so long as the resolution follows the Articles of that Chapter.

We have one further concern, and that is the safety of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) personnel in Sarajevo and elsewhere in Bosnia. I have shared this concern with the sponsors during informal consultations. We

(Mr. Gharekhan India)

are apprehensive about the possibility of UNPROFOR personnel getting caught in the crossfire or even becoming the targets of deliberate revenge attacks. We all know that even the Serb forces in Bosnia, who constitute by far the largest and most efficient fighting machine, and who seem to be primarily though not exclusively responsible for what is going on, are not under the command of one individual or one centre. General Mackenzie, who until recently was the area commander of UNPROFOR in Sarajevo, is reported to have said that there are as many as 19 Serbian warlords, who control some 70,000 troops and the preponderance of heavy weaponry in Bosnia.

Should the Council permit a situation to be created - entirely unintentionally, of course - in which United Nations peace keepers' lives would be placed in jeopardy? Could a situation develop which might oblige UNPROFOR to pull out altogether from Bosnia? We have been advised that the hope and expectation is that an occasion will not arise that would make it essential for any State to invoke the provisions of paragraph 2 of the draft resolution, since the clear expression of the determination of the United Nations to authorize the use of force will in itself have the desired effect. My delegation shares the hope and prays that the expectation may prove justified.

To conclude, my delegation is 100 per cent in agreement with the sponsors, in spirit, as to the objectives as well as the principal feature of the draft resolution authorizing the use of force. However, the question of principle about the command and control is extremely important for us. As I have said, my delegation without any hesitation could support the concept of taking all necessary measures so long as they were in accordance with the

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

Charter provisions. It is therefore with considerable regret and reluctance that my delegation will not be able to support the draft resolution.

Coming now to the draft resolution contained in document S/24422, my delegation shares the concern and joins in the condemnation of any violation of international humanitarian law, including those involving the practice of "ethnic cleansing" referred to in paragraph 2. It is because of our firm commitment to the defense of human rights that India was among the first to support the request by the United States to convene an extraordinary session of the Commission on Human Rights in Geneva to consider the situation in the former Yugoslavia. We believe that that was the right forum in which to take up such issues. However, my delegation has reservations about bringing compliance with international humanitarian law within the competence of the Security Council, and even more so about making it the subject of Chapter VII action. However, in our discussions with the sponsors, we were able to persuade them to accomodate some of our concerns. Therefore, when taking into account the enormity of the alleged crimes, my delegation, while maintaining its reservations, will join in the adoption of the resolution.

Mr. MUMBENGEGWI (Zimbabwe): Zimbabwe has witnessed with pain and agony the fratricidal carnage that has accompanied the disintegration of what used to be the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Zimbabwe has consistently supported efforts within the Security Council that we believed had a chance of assisting to bring about peace and stability among the peoples and republics of the former Yugoslavia. It was with this in mind that we fully supported the deployment of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) initially in Croatia and later in Sarajevo.

(Mr. Mumbengegwi, Zimbabwe)

My delegation is horrified by the continuously deteriorating humanitarian situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We are certainly distressed by the reluctance of combatants in that conflict to allow access to humanitarian supplies by innocent civilians who desperately need it. My delegation fully accepts that the humanitarian situation is sufficiently serious to warrant the taking of all necessary measures to get food and medicines to the starving and the sick population of Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, any necessary measures that we take must have the chance of improving rather than aggravating the already chaotic situation in that country.

Zimbabwe is of the view that any necessary measures taken or arrangements made to deal with this crisis have to be undertaken as a collective enforcement measure under the full control of and with full accountability to the United Nations through the Security Council, as provided for by the Charter of the United Nations. It is important to avoid any approach that is likely to deepen the crisis, fan hostilities, stir up passions and cause the people of that unhappy region to sink into deeper suffering and misery.

The draft resolution before us in document S/24421 seeks to authorize unidentified States, individually or collectively, to take all measures necessary to facilitate the delivery of humanitarian assistance to Sarajevo and, wherever needed, in other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In other words, the draft resolution seeks to empower any State which feels able and so inclined to use military force in any part of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the name of the United Nations but without any control from or accountability to the United Nations. What is even more disturbing to my delegation is the fact that it is left entirely to the individual States so intervening to define the

(Mr. Mumbengegwi, Zimbabwe)

scope of the said humanitarian operation. My delegation has serious difficulties in accepting a proposition that calls upon the Security Council to authorize unidentified States to use military force after which the Council is likely to assume the role of helpless spectator in a military operation it has so authorized.

It is the view of my delegation that the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina is essentially a civil war. The fact that there are some seeking to fish in troubled waters should not distract us from this essential fact. Under these circumstances there is always the danger that any individual State or indeed any group of States undertaking a humanitarian mission backed by military force would be seen by one or the other of the warring groups as having intervened to support the political objectives of its opponents. Such a perception would clearly intensify hostilities and lead to even more suffering for the innocent civilians than is currently being experienced.

The most appropriate approach, in our view, is to have such a humanitarian mission undertaken under the control and supervision of the United Nations. Its full accountability to the United Nations would give it a much better chance of acceptance by all the parties to the conflict.

There is yet another deeply disturbing question raised by the draft resolution before us. The United Nations already has UNPROFOR deployed in the same area where we wish to carry out these operations that will inevitably entail the use of force in the name of the United Nations. We are seriously concerned that this situation leaves UNPROFOR personnel exposed to the real, possible danger of retaliation from the warring groups in the region. How are we going to ensure that UNPROFOR personnel will be protected in the event that

(Mr. Mumbengegwi, Zimbabwe)

the envisaged operations provoke such retaliation? This situation of uncertainty is a cause of enormous discomfort for my delegation. Serious thought has to be given as to the fate of UNPROFOR should the Council choose to adopt the draft resolution before us.

Once again, I wish to stress that all necessary measures should be used to facilitate the delivery by the relevant United Nations agencies of humanitarian assistance to the area.

In our view, an appropriate arrangement in this case would be the deployment of a security force to protect humanitarian operations, fully controlled by and fully accountable to the United Nations, as that contemplated for Somalia.

It is not without considerable pain and agony that my delegation will not be able to support the draft resolution before us in document S/24421.

However, my delegation will be in a position to support the draft resolution in document S/24422.

Mr. SNOUSSI (Morocco)(interpretation from French): Each morning the Security Council and the international community of which it is a reflection is confronted with a serious challenge. Each day we are shocked to discover a new fact, a new form of behaviour, to add to the already long string of horrible acts and crimes perpetrated by a Government which confines itself to this explanation, given by a very authorized person only four days ago: "Do not forget that we have the fourth largest army in Europe".

After much hesitation and, unfortunately, a great deal of lost time, the Security Council has finally decided today to ensure the security of the United Nations personnel in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We pay a tribute to these

(Mr. Snoussi, Morocco)

men who are fulfilling their duties in impossible conditions, and always at the risk of their lives.

My country, which cherishes peace and freedom, is suffering for that young martyred country which, since the first day of its independence and recognition, has known only exodus, hunger, prison and violence. We were all deeply moved by the pictures we saw yestereday and the day before; we were shocked to learn that a country that could sit here among us has just opened concentration camps, and we were treated to the insupportable luxury of documents on good and bad concentration camps.

For a long time we were blinded by a media campaign in which we were fed the idea of a civil war. But this is not a question of a civil war: it is a question of the invasion of one State by another State, which has cold-bloodedly planned genocide; it is a question of action undertaken to destroy a young, independent State because that State wished to have a democratic structure and to show the free world that it was capable of promoting true democracy.

The measures we are advocating today must not make us forget the reality and the core of the problem. The resolutions and sanctions we have already adopted have not, unfortunately, succeeded in discouraging the Serb authorities. In principle, the London talks should lead to a solution. We express our most heartfelt wishes for their success, and for the success of the joint efforts of the European Community and the United Nations. But, as for us, we must remain vigilant.

(Mr. Snoussi, Morocco)

When that time is up, the international community and the Council should tolerate no more procrastination. We must not forget that all the time we have wasted has been cynically and systematically put to use in order to eliminate more adults and more children and to destroy more property. What will there be left when we finally decide to impose peace and defend this young country victimized by force and racism?

My delegation will vote in favour of this draft resolution because we believe that its adoption will make Serbian leaders think. But I hope that it will not give those leaders, men who have no respect for anything, yet another opportunity to kill more innocent persons and prolong the suffering of a whole people which is still placing all its hopes in us.

Mr. HATANO (Japan): Japan is deeply concerned about the deteriorating situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The numerous cease-fire agreements have not been honoured, and the parties to the conflict show no sign of laying down their arms. There are disturbing reports of the abuse of civilians held in camps and detention centres within the territory. It is understood that more than 2 million Bosnians have been expelled from their homes and from their homeland, and the delivery of humanitarian aid is becoming more and more difficult, despite the efforts of the United Nations and other humanitarian organizations.

Under the circumstances, my delegation believes it is important that the Security Council should adopt the draft resolution contained in document S/24421.

One cannot but be appalled by the reports of the imprisonment and abuse of innocent civilians in camps and detention centres. Such practices are in violation of international humanitarian law and should be strongly

(Mr. Hatano, Japan)

condemned. The International Committee of the Red Cross and other relevant international humanitarian organizations must be granted immediate and unimpeded access to all camps and detention centres. My delegation therefore supports the draft resolution contained in document S/24422.

I wish to emphasize again the importance of finding a political, not a military solution to the situation. My delegation commends the efforts being made to that end by the European countries and by Lord Carrington. I sincerely hope that these resolutions will contribute to expediting the peace process.

Mr. HAJNOCZI (Austria): The two draft resolutions address two crucial humanitarian concerns: food for the starving, and stopping the atrocities referred to by their perpetrators as "ethnic cleansing".

Austria always attaches particular weight to humanitarian and human-rights issues, and of course firmly supports the adoption of the texts before us and, what is even more important, their prompt implementation. While expre sing our wholehearted support, I cannot fail to note that Foreign Minister Mock proposed the creation of security corridors for the delivery of humanitarian assistance months ago. Despite our satisfaction that this approach is finally materializing, we cannot forget those victims who might still be alive if the international community had acted earlier.

Whether we allow the Serbian forces effectively to block food and humanitarian deliveries is a test of our moral standards. This intolerable practice is being applied not only to Sarajevo, but also to Gorazde, Bihac and many other places in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Blocking food and humanitarian deliveries is, in fact, regarded by the aggressor as a highly efficient means of forcing the non-Serbian population to flee and give up their

(Mr. Hajnoczi, Austria)

property, for this is precisely the Serbian aim in the conflict: to "cleanse" parts of the country of the non-Serbian population.

From our point of view, the international community has the clear obligation to assist displaced persons in returning to their homes and regaining their property. Many persons have been forced to sign documents renouncing their property rights. There can be no doubt that such documents are null and void and that compensation should be given for property that has been destroyed.

As we have been able to see on our television screens and in press reports in recent days, there are no limits to the cruelty being brought to bear in executing this policy. Let me just mention the killing of orphans of toddler age and the fact of the existence of concentration camps.

The second text which we shall adopt today deals with these repugnant violations of international humanitarian law and strongly condemns them. Austria favours the idea of bringing to trial those individuals who are responsible for such barbaric acts. As Jean Kirkpatrick said,

"it is not ethnicity, nor the breakup of empires that causes war. It is violent men and lawless governments".

There is one aspect in the language of the draft resolutions before us that we regret: it is the attempt carefully to maintain impartiality towards all parties to the conflict. In other relevant international forums, especially in the framework of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), less ambiguous wording has been used; for example, the States participating in the CSCE, in the plenary session of the Helsinki Follow-up Meeting as long ago as 15 April,

(Mr. Hajnoczi, Austria)

"condemned the violation by Serbian irregular forces and by the Yugoslav National Army of the independence and territorial integrity of, and human rights in, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and urged the Government of Serbia to discontinue its support for such actions, which, if continued, would constitute a pattern of clear, gross and uncorrected violations of CSCE commitments".

Can we be equally distant from the victim and the victimizer? In its endeavour to display impartiality, the Security Council should not lose sight of what is causing the conflict. We should take into account the words of the President of the European Commission, Mr. Jacques Delors, who on 10 August, in the European Parliament, said that:

(spoke in French)

"Yet again war is feeding violence, which is coming from all sides. But let us raise the level of the debate; let us see beyond the violence. Then we see, behind the twists and turns of its words and of its actions, the destructive, anti-humanistic ideology of the Belgrade regime".

(continued in English)

The facts are clear. What is happening in Bosnia and Herzegovina is primarily an aggression against the legitimate Government of a State Member of the United Nations. An insurrection, instigated, nurtured and heavily supported with matériel and personnel by Serbia and Montenegro, is threatening the very existence of the Government and State of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and of those citizens who are loyal to their Government.

(Mr. Hajnoczi, Austria)

If there is to be

"a new world order, where diverse nations are drawn together in common cause to achieve the universal aspirations of mankind: peace and security, freedom and the rule of law ... where brutality will go unrewarded and aggression will meet collective resistance",

to quote President Bush's address to the joint session of Congress on 11 September 1990, the international community has to counter the Serbian aggression speedily and decisively. In the event that the international community cannot, or does not want to, live up to this task, at least the exercise of the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence under Article 51 of the Charter must be granted to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(Mr. Hajnoczi, Austria)

As long as the international community fails to convince ultranationalists in Serbia that their policy of aggression is resolutely and effectively opposed, their conflict is bound to widen. Even Serbian newspapers report that Muslim merchants are harassed by police and paramilitary formations in northern Montenegro. There is a concentration of troops in the Sandjak. In Kosovo the repression of the overwhelmingly Albanian population is mounting. Macedonia is also endangered.

Policies of appeasement have never worked. Fifty years ago Europe suffered the insanity of the quest for ethnic purity and its corollary, ethnic cleansing and concentration camps. We cannot be permissive; we cannot allow this to happen again.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): I shall now put the draft resolution contained in document S/24421 to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Austria, Belgium, Cape Verde, Ecuador, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, Russian Federation, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

Against: None

Abstaining: China, India, Zimbabwe

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): The result of the voting is as follows: 12 in favour, none against and 3 abstentions. The draft resolution has been adopted as resolution 770 (1992).

I shall now put the draft resolution contained in document S/24422 to the vote. The blank spaces at the end of the first preambular paragraph should be filled in so as to read "770 (1992) of 13 August 1992".

(The President)

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Austria, Belgium, Cape Verde, China, Ecuador, France, Hungary, India, Japan, Morocco, Russian Federation, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela, Zimbabwe

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has therefore been adopted unanimously as resolution 771 (1992).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. VORONTSOV (Russian Federation) (interpretation from Russian): The Russian Federation was a sponsor of the draft resolutions just adopted by the Security Council. We deem it necessary to emphasize their carefully thought-out and balanced nature and clearly defined humanitarian aim of securing compliance with the Security Council's demands by all parties to the Yugoslav crisis.

These resolutions express the determination of the international community to assist in every way the innocent victims caught up in the whirlwind of the fratricidal tragedy in the Balkans. They reflect the responsibility with which the Security Council has consistently carried out, with respect to the Yugoslav crisis, the duties incumbent upon it under the Charter to maintain international peace and security. The Security Council reaffirms its demand that all parties to the conflict stop all fighting immediately. Furthermore, the continuing suffering of the inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina, who are deprived of the basic means for existence,

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

make it urgently necessary to ensure the provision of humanitarian assistance by all necessary means.

Like the other sponsors, we trust that reason and a sense of responsibility will prevail among all the parties to the conflict and that the delivery of foodstuffs and medicines will take place unimpeded and without the use of extreme measures.

The complexity and ambiguity of the situation require the world community to act on the basis of clearly established facts and with an objective approach to the activities of each of the parties to the Yugoslav crisis. A key role in ensuring such an approach falls to the United Nations in coordination with which, under one of the resolutions just adopted, all parties and organizations must act in facilitating the delivery of humanitarian assistance. We have felt extreme concern as has the rest of the international community, at reports of flagrant mass violations of human rights, including illegal detention in prisons and camps and the abuse of civilians in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Russian firmly supports the efforts of the world community to safeguard inalienable human rights, first and foremost the right to life and a peaceful future. The practice of "ethnic cleansing", wherever it may be carried out, is a disgrace to the closing years of the twentieth century, and the Security Council has, quite rightly, condemned it in the strongest terms.

In requesting information regarding all breaches of the norms of international humanitarian law, we emphasize the need to establish the truth of each report. On the basis of confirmed data, we are prepared to take the necessary measures, including those of the most severe kind, against those guilty of such breaches, regardless of which party in the Yugoslav crisis is responsible.

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

Russia has supported and will continue to support all reasonable forces in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, especially the new leadership of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in their efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement of the conflict on the basis of the Security Council's demands. It welcomes the emerging signs of a more sober approach by the parties to the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina. All of those involved in the conflict must understand that there is simply no alternative to a solution of the conflict by political means. We express the hope that all the parties in the Yugoslav crisis will seriously and responsibly make use of the new opportunity for peace provided by the forthcoming London conference, and which is to be held with an expanded membership, with the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, as co-Chairman.

The Russian Federation, for its part, will continue to make the most active efforts, collectively and bilaterally, to achieve a speedy and peaceful resolution of the Yugoslav crisis.

Mr. BUDAI (Hungary): Hungary has been following with profound concern the escalation of violence, the immense sufferings of the civilian population and the deterioration of the humanitarian situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The situation prevailing in this independent State Member of the United Nations continues to pose a threat to regional and international peace and security and, as such, constitutes a major concern for the international community.

Since the beginning of the Yugoslav crisis, the Republic of Hungary has advocated a peaceful settlement of the conflict through negotiations, on the basis of democratic values, respect for the right of nations to self-determination, as well as the human and minority rights of the population. We reject any aspiration to change borders by force, and we cannot accept any situation established in this manner.

We also condemn the changing of the ethnic composition of the population by force. We are deeply concerned by continuing reports of widespread violations of international humanitarian law, and in particular reports of the imprisonment and abuse of civilians in camps, prisons and detention centres within the territory of the former Yugoslavia and especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Our policy has been worked out in full accordance with the principles adopted by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) States, with the decisions of the European Community, the CSCE and the resolutions of this Council. Our goal remains to establish friendly relations and cooperation with all of our southern neighbours.

In that spirit, Hungary, together with the other members of the Security Council, welcomed the signing of the London Agreement on 17 July 1992, which also has provisions concerning the return of all refugees. We gladly joined

(Mr. Budai, Hungary)

the call for the maximum use of the cease-fire to bring humanitarian relief and supplies to all parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina. But the continuing attacks by Serbian elements in Bosnia, especially the merciless heavy-artillery attacks against the civilian population, threaten the delivery of urgently needed humanitarian aid, jeopardize the safety of United Nations personnel, put at risk the lives of thousands of citizens and force even more of them to leave their homes and seek refuge abroad, mainly in neighbouring countries, including Hungary.

Our delegation believes that the time has come for this Council to listen to the dramatic appeal from the war-besieged people of Bosnia and Herzegovina and at least to ensure the unhindered delivery of relief supplies of medicine and food. We urge all parties to cooperate in creating the necessary conditions for free and safe international humanitarian activity in the entire territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It goes without saying that the international community cannot disregard the responsibility of those who violate international humanitarian law, who order attacks on non-combatants, hospitals and ambulances, impeding the delivery of food and medical supplies to the civilian population, to mention only a few examples of criminal atrocities.

The adoption of these two resolutions is another example, in our opinion, of the strong commitment of the Security Council to human-rights and humanitarian issues. To act urgently is not only a moral obligation for the Council: it is indispensable for the preservation of the credibility of the United Nations. Only a credible Organization and a credible Security Council can perform their basic function - maintaining international peace and security.

(Mr. Budai, Hungary)

We should like to emphasize once again that there is an urgent need for a negotiated political solution to the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina if we are to protect and preserve the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of that country. The cessation of all military activity is certainly one of the most important steps towards creating a climate conducive to a peaceful settlement.

Isolation of the illegal military forces, including the irregular Serbian forces, which are not operating under the control of any sovereign Government, would help to put an end to the hostilities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Belgrade Government has stated that it does not consider the Serbian forces operating in Bosnia and Herzegovina to be under its control and does not take any responsibility for their actions. This position has been reaffirmed by Prime Minister Panic, during his recent visit to Budapest, on the occasion of the signing of an ICRC-mediated agreement with his Croatian counterpart on the exchange of prisoners of war. My delegation believes that international control over the illegal military forces would meet the concerns of all interested parties and contribute to easing the situation.

To strengthen this process, in our opinion, the Security Council should also consider establishing United Nations control over the border between Serbia-Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina. United Nations forces would supervise the land border crossings in order to prevent the transport of arms and ammunition from Serbia-Montenegro to Bosnia and Herzegovina. My delegation hopes, especially in the light of the aforementioned statements, that the interested parties will give favourable consideration to such an arrangement.

(Mr. Budai, Hungary)

We sincerely hope that the action taken today by this Council will help ease the sufferings of the victims of aggression and bring us closer to the end of the violence in Bosnia and Herzegovina. But we know that there is still a long way to go before a viable solution and peace are achieved, and therefore the Security Council should remain actively seized of this matter.

Sir DAVID HANNAY (United Kingdom): The purpose of the first of these two resolutions, which my country is co-sponsoring, is to facilitate the delivery of humanitarian relief throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina in coordination with the United Nations. In implementing it, the aim will be to ensure that the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and other agencies, which are already providing humanitarian assistance, can do so more widely and effectively. We should not overlook the fact that some help is already getting in, by land as well as by air. The United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and UNHCR have already been collaborating very effectively and with great courage and determination, around Sarajevo. But nothing like enough help is getting through, and it is certainly not getting through to all who need it throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina. The international community needs now to increase the scale and the scope of the relief operation and to make sure that it gets to all the places where it is needed, including the camps.

The resolution calls upon States to use any measures necessary for the delivery of humanitarian relief, including military measures, but it does not prescribe the use of force. That is as it should be. The use of force is not desirable, but it may be necessary. The aim is to develop a system of protective support as necessary to supplement and expand the existing

(Sir David Hannay,
United Kingdom)

humanitarian operations. The United Kingdom has begun consulting closely with partners and allies to decide how best to follow up the resolution, and this process will now be intensified. Close coordination with the United Nations will be put in hand. In deciding whether and how far military measures are needed, we will give great weight to the views of the United Nations authorities and the humanitarian agencies.

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

As to the second resolution, our co-sponsorship reflects our deep dismay and revulsion at continuing reports of widespread violations of international humanitarian law, most recently today from the International Committee for the Red Cross (ICRC). We are appalled at the continuing blatant disregard for humanitarian principles shown by the parties to the conflict. Mistreatment in detention camps, enforced expulsions on the ground of ethnic origin, attacks on civilians and on United Nations and ICRC personnel are affronts to morality and are contrary to all the provisions of international humanitarian law. We deplore such actions - whoever is the perpetrator. The perpetrators of these criminal acts must realize that they will be brought to account.

The camps themselves are only one aspect of a wholly unacceptable policy of the Serbs, both in Belgrade and in Bosnia, to extend Serb control of Bosnian territory by attacking and expelling other communities.

This resolution rightly makes special reference to the odious practice of "ethnic cleansing". It is appalling that in the last decade of the twentieth century, such actions should be prevalent. The forcible removal of civilian populations is wholly contrary to the accepted tenets of international humanitarian law. Reports of an attempt by the Bosnian Serbs to expel 25,000 people forcibly from Bihac and to get the international humanitarian agencies to help them to do so have provoked the outrage and the rejection they deserve.

Sanctions are already in place against Serbia and Montenegro. The authorities in Belgrade need to realize that the international political and economic penalties already imposed on Serbia and Montenegro will continue and will be intensified unless there is decisive action by them to reverse these policies.

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

We have all been shocked by television images of the plight of persons detained in the camps in Bosnia. A key provision of this resolution is the demand that the ICRC and other relevant organizations be granted access to detention camps. It is good news that the ICRC has been granted access to 11 camps in Bosnia. This access must be continued, and access must be granted also to the remaining camps and detention centres immediately. It is essential that the ICRC be able to monitor the condition of detainees, and that all parties fully respect the relevant provisions of international humanitarian law.

Peace in what was formerly Yugoslavia can only come from a cease-fire that is respected and from a negotiated settlement. The international community cannot acquiesce in the horrendous alternatives now being pursued in Bosnia. The British Government - which now holds the presidency of the European Community - together with the Secretary-General, is now organizing a broadened and intensified effort to get all parties back to the conference table. The international conference being called in London on 26 August offers a real opportunity to engage a meaningful peace process. Let us hope it will be taken. It is vital that all the peoples of the former Yugoslavia realize that their future peace, their security and their prosperity can be achieved only at the conference table and not on the battlefield.

Mr. PERKINS (United States of America): My Government is appalled by the continuing deterioration of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The destruction of villages, executions and indiscriminate killings continue apace. Belgrade's vile policy of "ethnic cleansing" - which is actually ethnic extermination - is only intensifying. We are witnessing some of the most egregious abuses of human rights that Europe has seen since the Second

(Mr. Perkins, United States)

World War, symbolized by the "ethnic cleansing" being conducted against the innocent victims of this tragedy.

The frustration of United Nations efforts to get food and medicine to the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the massive starvation and spreading health-care nightmare have prompted the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina to call upon the world community to take all necessary measures to ensure the delivery of humanitarian assistance there.

My Government has made it clear that we believe the world community should do everything necessary in response to Bosnia and Herzegovina's call to ensure the delivery of assistance to the needy there. We stand fully prepared to do our part in achieving this goal.

The Security Council has demonstrated today by these resolutions that it too shares the belief that the provision of humanitarian assistance not only is an urgent humanitarian concern but is also an important element of the effort to restore peace and security in the region. The Security Council also demanded that barbaric human-rights violations must stop. I wish to emphasize that conquest of territory will not be tolerated by the international community.

The Council has also addressed today the most troubling of the many disturbing accounts that are currently coming out of the former Yugoslavia. We have seen and read reports of detention centres which have shocked the world. A recent report of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) is relevant here. A paragraph of it is worth quoting:

(Mr. Perkins, United States)

"Following the visits its delegates have conducted during the last few days to places of detention in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is evident to the International Committee of the Red Cross that innocent civilians are being arrested and subjected to inhumane treatment. Moreover, the detention of such persons is part of a policy of forced population transfers carried out on a massive scale and marked by the systematic use of brutality. Among the long list of methods used are harassment, murder, confiscation of property, deportation and the taking of hostages, which reduces individuals to the level of bargaining counters - all in violation of international humanitarian law."

Whether individual facilities house 5 or 5,000, whether they are controlled by the Government or local forces, the Governments and individuals involved must be held to account for the treatment of all those detained - civilians and military alike.

The international community demands to know the truth behind these camps and to see that any and all abuses are brought to an end. As long as human suffering continues inside Bosnia and Herzegovina, the world will stand ready to act to alleviate that suffering. I should like to quote a second paragraph from the ICRC report:

"ICRC delegates have had only limited access to the Republic's various regions and, despite repeated approaches made in this respect, they have still not received comprehensive lists of places of detention controlled by the various parties to the conflict or been notified of persons captured, and are thus unable to bring help to all victims. The ICRC has had access to only a very limited number of prisoners of war, while the places of detention are crowded with innocent and terrified civilians."

(Mr. Perkins, United States)

My Government views leadership by the United Nations as key to resolving the humanitarian problems in Bosnia. We believe that a continued United Nations presence there is indispensible. We are ready to work with the Secretary-General and our international partners to take the steps necessary to make that presence fully effective.

Finally, my Government makes a special appeal to all parties to the conflict to end the massacre that is taking place in Bosnia and Herzegovina and to cooperate with all humanitarian relief efforts.

We strongly urge all sides to work together through the Conference on Yugoslavia to find a negotiated settlement to this unfortunate crisis.

Mr. ARRIA (Venezuela) (interpretation from Spanish): Mr. President, on my way to this meeting of the Council I had an opportunity to read a copy of the communication which you circulated to members of the Council containing the statement which the Permanent Representative of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Ambassador Muhamed Sacirbey, would have wished to make at this meeting. This statement contains particularly eloquent and tragic passages, which I should like to quote in English at the beginning of my statement:

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

(spoke in English)

"What did Bosnia and Herzegovina use to be? It was a land of peaceful green hills and planted fields, of towns and cities where Catholic and Serbian churches, mosques and synagogues shared our skyline for centuries, a place of learning and art, libraries and skilled artisans.

"What is Bosnia and Herzegovian today? It is a land where the hills and villages resound with the echo of the aggressors' guns, where churches, mosques and synagogues are desecrated and graveyards are razed, where parks and back yards, once filled with carefreee children and happy parents, are now makeshift cemeteries, places of torture and concentration camps; starving children, dismembered corpses and orphans murdered. As horrifying as this suffering is, it is only the symptom of a disease called 'ethnic cleansing'."

(spoke in Spanish)

It is difficult to add anything more to describe the situatiion that we have today condemned and repudiated in the two resolutions we have just adopted. This no doubt complements the reports of the International Committee of the Red Cross that have been cited today. The multinational Yugoslavia organized by Marshall Tito in 1945 exists no more. In its place, the United Nations has recognized and admitted the Republics of Croatia, Slovenia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, which, along with Serbia and Montenegro, represent the historical and political heritage of this ancient land, divided today among all those Republics.

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

The plan of Tito, a Croatian by birth, was to establish a solid Balkan State capable of ethnic integration that would produce a new Yugoslavian nationality, the product of a mixture of Croats, Serbs, Montenegrans, Macedonians, Slovenians, Bosnians, Hungarians and Albanians; but it could not overcome their deep-rooted ancestral differences. It is clear that the old Yugoslavia, renowned for the intense international activity of Marshall Tito, who, along with Nasser, Nehru, Sukarno and Nkrumah, created the Non-Aligned Movement, has disappeared.

During the past 11 months, the Security Council has made many efforts to achieve a negotiated solution to this conflict, whose main confrontations have evolved within the territory of the newly created Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. During this period the Council has adopted 15 resolutions relating to the crisis - to this tragedy - ranging from the arms embargo contained in resolution 713 (1991) to the formation of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), and including the economic sanctions provided for in resolution 757 (1992), besides several Presidental statements.

But for those who direct the violence all of this action by the Security Council has been and remains a matter of indifference. The European Community itself has also promoted initiatives to achieve a lasting cease-fire and begin the search for a permanent peace based on respect for the rights of the various ethnic groups that make up these peoples - a permanent peace that assures the establishment of political structures respected by all and legitimized by the democratic participation of the members of those communities.

These efforts have been unsuccessful and today we are witnessing an organized vandalism that has chosen to call itself "ethnic cleansing", a

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

criminal practice by which hundreds of thousands of families have been displaced from their ancestral territories, the intent being to "cleanse" those places of ethnic communities that are different from those that have the lion's share of the weapons. This abominable, criminal practice must cease.

To that end, the resolution we have just adopted includes pertinent provisions for the implementation of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 relating to war crimes. The resolution should give us the opportunity to begin to try as war criminals all persons responsible for the horrible crimes that are being committed. The perpetrators must not go unpunished. Still haunted by memories of the Holocaust, which we never expected to be repeated, mankind would neither understand nor accept it.

The preamble to the National Constitution of Venezuela repudiates warfare as an instrument of relations between States, and we have always advocated the settlement of differences or conflicts by peaceful means. Thus, the decision to vote in favour of both resolutions was for my country a difficult one, owing to the fact that this resolution, while it specifically mentions the implementation of all the means necessary to ensure humanitarian assistance in the country in question, implicitly presupposes the use of force if circumstances should call for it. Indeed, this is the first time that the Security Council has taken a decision of this sort to provide humanitarian assistance in a country.

Allow me to recall that Latin saying "Amicus Plato, sed magis amica veritas". Obviously, we are friends to all the peoples involved in the conflict, but we are more of a friend to the truth, which emerges clearly from the objective, well-founded analysis of the atrocities that are being

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

committed against the innocent people of The Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In conclusion, we cannot but hope that the use of force will be unnecessary and that humanitarian assistance can be properly provided. We likewise hope that the decision we have just taken will serve as sufficient warning not only to those directly involved in the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina but to collaborators involved in the conflict. We also hope that this decision will contribute to a process that will allow the establishment of an appropriate framework for negotiation. The expanded conference to be held in London on 26 August 1992 should serve as such a forum; it should bear the ultimate responsibility for achieving a comprehensive political solution in the territory which, from 1918 to 1991, constituted the former Yugoslavia.

Mr. VAN DAELE (Belgium) (interpretation from French): The information coming out of Bosnia and Herzegovina is becoming more and more alarming. The blockade of Sarajevo and other regions of Bosnia and Herzegovina deprives the people of food and medicine and has prevented the distribution of aid mobilized by the international community.

Thanks to the efforts of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), to which we pay tribute here, the Sarajevo airport has been opened. But this has not been enough to allow international assistance to reach those who so sorely need it.

Furthermore, as has been noted by several speakers, some information points to the existence in Bosnia and Herzegovina of detention centres where malnutrition, extortion and torture prevail - all in the name of "ethnic cleansing", which we had hoped had been banished from our political vocabulary.

(Mr. Van Daele, Belgium)

It is against this distressing background that the Council has just adopted two resolutions which my country co-sponsored. The first resolution, as we see it, aims to enable those States that have the resources to do so to ensure, finally, the distribution of humanitarian assistance to the people of Sarajevo and other parts of Bosnia and Herzegoviana. To this end and to this end alone, all necessary measures should be taken. Therefore, the escorting of convoys should discourage those who continue to impede the distribution of humanitarian assistance.

The possibility of using all necessary measures should be carefully coordinated. The first of the two resolutions which we have just adopted calls upon States to take measures in coordination with the United Nations and to report to the Secretary-General and, through him, to the Security Council on a periodic basis. In our view, this is supplemental to the efforts of UNPROFOR, which should continue to carry out its mandate.

(Mr. van Daele, Belgium)

The second resolution we have adopted has a dual objective. First, since the Council issued its statement of 4 August, it has been possible to visit a few camps. But such visits should no longer have to depend upon the good will or opportunism of the parties concerned. The resolution therefore demands that there be immediate, unimpeded and continuous access to all camps by humanitarian organizations.

But in this second resolution we also unequivocally and solemnly remind those responsible for abuses and torture that they cannot escape their individual responsibility. The Security Council calls for the cooperation of States and humanitarian organizations in informing it of all the violations of humanitarian law of which they are aware, so that the Secretary-General can recommend additional measures to end them.

It is for those various reasons that Belgium cosponsored the two resolutions we have just adopted.

Mr. ROCHEREAU DE LA SABLIERE (France) (interpretation from French): While deadly fighting continues in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the population of that country is experiencing a terrible ordeal. In Sarajevo and the rest of Bosnia, shortages of basic necessities, especially food and medication, threaten to raise the already high number of this conflict's victims.

The international community, and the United Nations in particular, is exerting considerable efforts to mitigate the suffering of the population by attempting to provide it with sorely needed humanitarian aid. France is taking an active part in those efforts, both by its contribution to units of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) deployed at the Sarajevo airport and by the delivery of humanitarian supplies. The visit of the President of the French Republic to the besieged Bosnian capital demonstrated

(Mr. Rochereau de La Sablière, France)

my country's commitment at the highest level to assisting the people affected by the fighting.

Unfortunately, the efforts I have referred to have encountered extreme difficulties, resulting largely from the obstacles to aid distribution raised by the forces fighting in the field. In spite of the courage and dedication of those participating in assistance operations, those operations cannot succeed when they are opposed, as is often the case, by force and threat.

In the face of such a situation, and when the suffering of the population is on the rise - reports in the press and on television are eloquent in that regard - the international community is duty bound to take action to allow humanitarian assistance to reach those for whom it is intended, wherever that is necessary in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

It was in this spirit that France, along with other members of the Security Council, submitted the draft resolution just adopted as resolution 770 (1992). This text has a dual goal. First, it reaffirms the Security Council's demand that the fighting stop immediately, which would eliminate obstacles to the provision of assistance. Secondly, if these obstacles remain, it allows for all measures necessary, including the use of force, to be taken by States in coordination with the United Nations to ensure that the population is not abandoned to hunger and privation.

My delegation earnestly hopes that the parties to the conflict will meet the demands of our Council and stop fighting. If this does not happen, however, France is determined to lend all its assistance to ensuring that the actions envisaged in the text we have just adopted are taken. It intends to provide such assistance as part of the Western European Union, whose member States have already begun to consider how to implement our resolution. We

(Mr. Rochereau de La Sablière, France)

express the hope that many countries - especially those with a vital interest in peace and security on the European continent - will join with ours to contribute to reaching the goal of this text. It is in fact crucial that all efforts be coordinated: those of the United Nations - and of UNPROFOR in particular, whose activity is vital and to which France pays a tribute; those of United Nations humanitarian bodies and other humanitarian organizations; and those of Member States.

In conclusion, I should like to reiterate how important it is - above and beyond the serious humanitarian questions with which we are dealing - that the efforts to reach a political solution to the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina be pursued with the greatest determination. As the text we have just adopted emphasizes, only a political settlement is likely to put a definitive end to the ordeal of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its people. In this regard, we hope that the expanded international conference which France has proposed and which is to be held in London from 26 to 28 August will give new impetus to the efforts to settle this conflict.

I should now like to address resolution 771 (1992), on the detention camps in the former Yugoslavia, a resolution of which my country is also a sponsor.

The French Government has taken cognizance with indignation and horror of the information and testimony, growing daily more numerous and incriminating, concerning extremely serious violations of international humanitarian law in the former Yugoslavia, and in particular the suffering inflicted upon civilians held in camps.

(Mr. Rochereau de La Sablière, France)

My country strongly condemns such deeds. It believes that the international community must act immediately to shed full light upon these violations and put an end to them. In this regard, my Government quickly agreed to the convening of a special session of the Commission on Human Rights in Geneva and also asked its Minister for Health and Humanitarian Action, Mr. Kouchner, to go to the area in order to highlight the importance we attach to this question.

We welcome the fact that the Security Council, which already took action on this question in the Presidential statement of 4 August, is formally reiterating today, in the resolution we have just adopted, the demands that an immediate end be put to these very serious violations of humanitarian law - and in particular those linked with the practice of "ethnic cleansing" - and that immediate access to all places of detention be given to the competent humanitarian organizations, in particular the International Committee of the Red Cross. It is also important, as our resolution provides, that all available information on violations of humanitarian law committed in the former Yugoslavia be made known to the international community.

These extremely serious violations of humanitarian law, which instil in the international community a sense of outrage and revulsion, must cease forthwith. As our resolution recalls, those who commit these deeds will have to bear individual responsibility for them, in accordance with international law. We whole-heartedly hope that this message will be heard.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the Permanent Representative of China.

(The President)

The Chinese delegation abstained in the voting on Security Council resolution 770 (1992), which has just been adopted. The Chinese delegation wishes to state its position on the resolution.

First, we are deeply concerned at the loss of life and the displacement of refugees resulting from the bloody conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We appreciate and attach importance to the humanitarian relief activities carried out by the international community. We strongly urge the parties concerned to provide all necessary assistance and facilities to ensure the smooth operation of these activities. We endorse the objective of facilitating the humanitarian relief work, as proclaimed in the resolution. But we cannot agree to the resolution's authorization of the use of force by Member States, as it is precisely the continuous armed conflicts that are currently hindering the delivery of humanitarian assistance. Once Member States resort to force, armed conflicts will surely be expanded and prolonged as a result, thus further hampering the humanitarian relief work.

(The President)

Secondly, we believe that our primary objective in seeking a fundamental solution to the present crisis lies in securing an immediate cease-fire among all parties concerned so as to achieve a settlement through dialogue and negotiation. All efforts on the part of the international community should facilitate the early realization of this objective rather than further complicating the situation. In recent months the international community has made enormous efforts for the peaceful solution of the conflict, and some of these efforts, including the international conference on Yugoslavia to be held in London at the end of August, are still under way. It is only right for us to give these efforts more time and a chance to succeed. We are concerned that a Security Council resolution authorizing the use of force would create difficulties for all such efforts aimed at a political solution to the problem.

Thirdly, the broad authorization given to all States by the resolution to take all necessary measures is tantamount to issuing a blank check. It may lead to the loss of control of the situation, with serious consequences for which the United Nations and the Security Council will be held responsible, and the reputation of the United Nations may suffer as a result.

Fourthly, as is known to all, the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) has played an active role in facilitating international humanitarian relief activities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, the resolution fails to make arrangements for UNPROFOR's mandate and its future in the light of the new situation which may arise. Once military activities are in operation, the nature of the United Nations involvement will change, making it difficult for UNPROFOR to carry out its original mandate and seriously compromising the safety and security of UNPROFOR and other United Nations personnel.

(The President)

With regard to resolution 771 (1992), the Chinese delegation voted in favour solely out of humanitarian considerations. However, we deem it inappropriate to invoke Chapter VII of the Charter in this resolution. The Chinese delegation hereby wishes to place its reservation on record. Chapter VII of the Charter can be invoked only under situations that seriously threaten international peace and security and it cannot be invoked under other circumstances. It is our view that the invoking of Chapter VII of the Charter in this resolution should not constitute a precedent.

In conclusion, I wish to reiterate that the Chinese Government strongly appeals to all parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina to work out an immediate cease-fire and to resolve all their differences and disputes through negotiations and by peaceful means. We are against all abuses of civilian population in contravention of the Geneva Conventions. We call upon all parties concerned to create conditions favourable to ensuring the effective and unhindered delivery of international humanitarian relief.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

There are no further names on the list of speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 6.05 p.m.

UNITED
NATIONS

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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3107
17 August 1992

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 17 August 1992, at 5.10 p.m.

President:	Mr. LI Daoyu	(China)
Members:	Austria	Mr. HAJNOCZI
	Belgium	Mr. VAN DAELE
	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	Ecuador	Mr. AYALA LASSO
	France	Mr. DELON
	Hungary	Mr. BUDAI
	India	Mr. GHAREKHAN
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. SNOUSSI
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. RICHARDSON
	United States of America	Mr. PERKINS
	Venezuela	Mr. ARRIA
	Zimbabwe	Mr. MUMBENGEGWI

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The meeting was called to order at 5.10 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE QUESTION OF SOUTH AFRICA

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE QUESTION OF SOUTH AFRICA (S/24389)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations. Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the question of South Africa, contained in document S/24389. Members of the Council also have before them document S/24444, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations. Members of the Council have received photocopies of a letter dated 12 August 1992 from the Permanent Representative of Senegal to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, which will be issued as document S/24453.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall take it that that is the case.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Austria, Belgium, Cape Verde, China, Ecuador, France, Hungary, India, Japan, Morocco, Russian Federation, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela, Zimbabwe

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 772 (1992).

In connection with the resolution just adopted, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"It is the understanding of the members of the Council that the Secretary-General will consult the Council on the number of observers he has the intention to deploy from time to time."

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 5.15 p.m.